

HOLD FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY AT 11:30 A.M., SATURDAY, MAY 10, 1958

ADDRESS BY SEN. STROM THURMOND (D-SC) AT CALHOUN COUNTY COURTHOUSE, ST. MATTHEWS, S. C., DURING CEREMONIES FOR UNVEILING HISTORICAL MARKER ON FARM DAY OF CALHOUN COUNTY'S GOLDEN JUBILEE CELEBRATION, MAY 10, 1958.

SENATOR GRESSETTE, REPRESENTATIVE NELSON, MAYOR HOUSER, ^{able}COUNTY OFFICERS, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN OF CALHOUN COUNTY:

This is an auspicious occasion. It is a great pleasure for me to be here today/to help celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of Calhoun County.

I have been following your Golden Jubilee activities closely, because of the great enthusiasm and interest which the citizens of Calhoun County/and the surrounding areas/have taken in this occasion. I do not believe/that there is anyone in South Carolina who is not aware of this gigantic celebration/and all its attendant festivities.

You have succeeded not only in growing a lot of whiskers, and in producing a period of joy and merriment for yourselves and others, but you have also succeeded/in boosting public relations for Calhoun County/to a new high. In doing so, you have demonstrated a strong community spirit/which is vital to progress and future development.

FARM DAY

I am glad that you have set aside this special day of recognition/to your farmers and their families. I know of no group in this country which works harder, renders a greater service, and receives less monetary reward/than do our farm families. Having been reared on a farm, having finished Clemson College with a degree in agriculture, having taught agriculture

in our schools, and having farmed myself, I believe that I have a pretty good idea of the difficulties/which are besetting our farm families today.

They are caught in the tight squeeze of constantly rising production costs/and continued low prices/for their products. This is all wrapped up in Government red tape and acreage restrictions, which have had adverse effects on our money crops, and made it virtually impossible for some to continue in farming operations.

In view of the fact that other segments of our economy/enjoy certain advantages by Government guarantees and subsidies, it is mandatory for our Government/to provide some assistance to our farmers. That is why I have been working for price support levels/at 90 per cent of parity on our basic crops, and for increased acreage allotments/instead of further reductions and restrictions.

I believe that the Government should reopen our old world markets, so we can sell and barter our farm products to the other areas of the world/that need our food and clothing. Also, the Government should assist by engaging in greater research projects/which can foster greater individual initiative/and open new doors of opportunity to our farmers, who are willing and ready/to engage in new agricultural adventures.

In all my experience in public and private life, I have found no substitute for individual initiative, willingness to work hard and long, and the exercise of good common sense. The farmers of Calhoun County/stand as a living monument/to the exercise of these principles.

While acreage restrictions and competition from man-made

fibres/have reduced the potential of cotton as a money crop in this great farming community, the farmers of Calhoun County have not stood idle/and depended solely on federal assistance from Washington. They have moved to meet the problem through diversification and development of new crops. Calhoun County, which ranks second only to neighboring Orangeburg County in the production of soybeans, is rapidly becoming the soybean center of the United States. Some of your own farmers have done much research in this field. A shatter-proof variety has been developed here, which has made the production of soybeans more profitable and valuable/to the economy of Calhoun County and South Carolina.

Additionally, I noticed while riding this morning from Creston to Cameron, and then to St. Matthews, that some of the farmers have planted numerous peach trees, and others have turned to the production of barley and other crops/that provide better opportunities at the present time.

I am informed also that beef and dairy farming/have increased here in recent years. This is the type of initiative and ingenuity/that have made it possible for Calhoun County to produce master farmers, and a forward-looking farming community through the years. If such progress continues, it may be necessary to move the Department of Agriculture from Washington to Calhoun County/so the bureaucrats can keep in step with true agricultural progress.

INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

I am also glad to learn that the people of Calhoun County/are trying to balance their agricultural economy with industry. When the people of South Carolina elected me to the governorship in 1946,

I determined that I would make this one of the primary goals of my administration. At the conclusion of my service, more than one billion dollars had been expended or announced for investment in new industries and expansions. This created 60,000 new jobs, with new annual payrolls of approximately \$125,000,000. One of the industries which came to South Carolina at the close of World War II was the Sacony plant here in St. Matthews. It has played a vital part in the economy of this community.

New industries have continued to come into South Carolina, and I hope it will not be long before Calhoun County will begin to reap the benefits of your concerted efforts to attract new industry. As a result of the setback which agriculture has suffered in recent years, it is more urgent than ever that we locate more industries in our rural areas.

COUNTY HISTORY

Calhoun County is one of the smallest counties in South Carolina, but what it may lack in quantity is more than made up by the fine quality of its citizens, its fertile farmlands, its abundant resources, its beautiful landscape, its rich heritage, and its colorful history. While Calhoun is also one of the State's youngest counties, the history of this section dates back to 1704, when the first white settlement was established by George Sterling. This was some 72 years before Colonel William Thompson, Rebecca Motte, ^{Emily Gieger} and many other Revolutionary patriots from this area made their valuable contributions toward the winning of our fight for independence.

Later in 1862, Colonels Laurence M. Keitt and Olin M. Dantzler formed a regiment of volunteers for service in the War

Between the States. They were joined by 460 others from this area, many of whom were killed or wounded in service, including these two great leaders of our Southern forces. In subsequent conflicts, Calhoun County has also furnished to our country/ servicemen who have proved on the battlefield/ to be a great credit to their county, State, and nation.

The same spirit of courage and determination, which fired patriots of this section to play such an important role in the defense of our country through the years, led such men as Ed Wimberly, Dr. T. H. Dreher, T. A. Amaker, G. A. Baxter, J. E. Wannamaker, J. Skottowe Wannamaker, Martin D. Keller, John Muller, George W. Fairey, John A. Peterkin, Paul Frank Spigener and many others, to win their battle for the formation of a new county in 1908, after two earlier defeats.

JOHN C. CALHOUN

When the county was established, it was named in honor of South Carolina's greatest statesman, John C. Calhoun. That Calhoun was not born, and never lived, in this immediate vicinity, matters not. He was the very embodiment of the principles for which the people of this county fought/ and gave their all, and for which their descendants are still fighting.

On the occasion of a ceremony held in Calhoun's honor in the United States Capitol nearly half a century ago, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts spoke these words:

"He was the greatest man South Carolina has given to the Nation. That in itself is no slight praise, for from the days of the Laurenses, the Pinckneys, the Rutledges, from the time of Moultrie and Sumter and Marion to the present day, South Carolina has always been conspicuous in peace and war for the force, the ability, and the character of the men who have served

her/and given to her name its high distinction in our history. But Calhoun was much more even than this. He was one of the most remarkable men, one of the greatest minds that American public life can show.... The man remains greatly placed in our history. The unyielding courage, the splendid intellect, the long devotion to the public service, the pure, unspotted private life are all there, are all here with us now, untouched and unimpaired for after ages to admire."

Such was the man for whom this county is named, the man whose life exemplifies the struggle of our State and of our nation/to maintain constitutional liberty. Calhoun was one of five outstanding Senators of all time/selected by a special committee of the United States Senate in 1957, for inclusion in the Senate Hall of Fame. I had the honor of placing his name in nomination/ before the committee. We are proud that this great South Carolinian/ was one of the five chosen for this unique place in history.

PRINCIPLES OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

Because this struggle for constitutional government still goes on today; because of the remarkable and startling -- one might almost say ominous -- parallel between today's events/and those of the 1850's; and because of the eternal truth of the principles which Calhoun enunciated, his works are well worth our close attention today. In the words of that great student and champion of liberty, Lord Acton, Calhoun's speeches and writings were characterized by "...arguments which are the very perfection of political truth, and which combine with the realities of modern democracy the theory and the securities of medieval freedom."

Calhoun understood the nature of constitutional government, of constitutionalism, as few men did even in his own day, and as woefully few do today. Over the past century we have already seen

a grave weakening of the foundation of our constitutional structure; and what remains of it is being steadily eroded away, by relentless Federal encroachment.

Yet the people, due to their failure to understand the nature of constitutionalism, seem blandly unaware of the danger. Apparently, they will not realize that their liberty is in jeopardy, that its necessary supports are being destroyed, until they have actually lost it -- when, of course, it will be too late. That is like refusing to become alarmed over the weakening of a dike until it actually bursts and the floods pour in.

Those of us who plead the cause of States' Rights/and Separation of Powers of the three branches of government, and who warn of the dangers involved in Federal usurpation, are dismissed by some as alarmists, as men who are fearful of imaginary dangers.

Too many people feel that their freedom is secure/because they still have the right to vote. Their mental attitude seems to run like this: What does it matter, after all, if more and more governmental functions are transferred from the States to the Federal government, which can probably run them more efficiently anyway? What does it matter if one branch of the Federal government/assumes powers and functions/which rightfully are supposed to be exercised by a different branch? Who is being hurt by the change? Where can any loss of liberty be shown? After all, are not our liberties perfectly safe, so long as we, the people, have the right to vote, the right of universal suffrage?

This is an easy line of thinking to fall into, but never could there be greater delusion. As Calhoun pointed out, "... It would be a great and dangerous mistake to suppose, as many do,

that the right of suffrage is of itself sufficient to form constitutional governments."

Calhoun well understood that the universal right to vote, alone, without other safeguards, would not save the people from tyranny. He knew that, without constitutional protections, the majority would form a government "as absolute as it would be in the hands of irresponsible rulers."

Calhoun saw clearly/that the essence of constitutional government/lay in the establishment -- and the jealous and strict preservation -- of some system, some provision, which would act as a secure check against the potential excesses of the government, against the tyranny of the unrestrained majority. "It is manifest," he said, "that this provision must be of a character calculated to prevent any one interest, or combination of interests, from using the powers of government to aggrandise itself at the expense of the others."

CHECKS AND BALANCES: " THE NEGATIVE POWER"

In other words, what was called for/was a system of checks and balances, a system which would prevent the building-up of a power-apparatus/which could one day suppress the liberties of the people. Calhoun used the term "the negative power" to describe this counterbalance to the force of government.

"It is this negative power," he declared, "-- the power of preventing or arresting the action of the government,--...which in fact forms the constitution.....It is, indeed, the negative power which makes the constitution, and the positive which makes the government."

When the Framers drew up the Constitution in 1787, they carefully and deliberately provided for the negative power. They devised our famous system of checks and balances. The two principal features of this system, and hence the very pillars on which our liberty rests, are the twin principles/known as States' Rights -- that is, the reservation by the States of all powers not delegated to the Federal government -- and Separation of Powers, that is, the separation of the legislative, judicial, and executive powers/into three distinct and independent branches of government.

Our forefathers were quite familiar with despotism, and they knew its forms and its methods. They knew that no man can be trusted with power. As Thomas Jefferson was later to express it:

"In questions of power, then, let no more be heard of confidence in man, but bind him down from mischief by the chains of the Constitution."

That is just what the Framers sought to do. By means of these two governmental devices, Separation of Powers and States' Rights, they sought to prevent that concentration of centralized power/which they knew would be the death-knell of individual liberty in America. Liberty would be safe so long, and only so long, as these two principles remained intact and were scrupulously upheld.

Ladies and gentlemen, these principles are not being upheld today. In the case of States' Rights especially, the wisdom and the warnings of the Founding Fathers are being brazenly ignored. Constitutional limitations and restrictions, those at least which purported to restrain the power of the Federal government, are being brushed aside. The primary and indispensable feature of our checks-and-balances system -- States' Rights -- is being eroded away to nothing, as matters which are rightfully the domestic concerns of the States/are brought under the sway of Washington.

THE MEANING OF STATES' RIGHTS

Just what do we mean, anyway, by this term "States' Rights?" Is it just a meaningless name that Southerners love to prattle about? Is it simply an outworn political tradition? No! States' Rights is an enduring and valid principle, an ancient and a universal principle -- it is the fundamental human right of local self-government.

Local self-government, States' Rights, home rule, self-determination -- call it what you will -- they are one and the same. Applied to almost any other land but the South, the United States has always recognized and supported the principle of local self-government.

The United States sympathized with Home Rule for Ireland. The United States insisted that the peace settlement after World War I be based on the principle of self-determination, as a result of which several national groups in Eastern Europe, formerly subject peoples of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, achieved political independence. Since the close of World War II, the United States has supported self-rule for many former colonies of European powers, from Indonesia and Burma to Ghana and Morocco.

THE SOUTH'S STRUGGLE FOR SELF-RULE

In fact, the United States was founded, and grew out of, the right of local self-government, of Home Rule ---- that was what the Revolutionary War achieved for the former colonies. Yet, when the South asserted this identical right, in the 1860's, the right was denied by the United States.

The sense of being a separate and distinct people had been rapidly gaining ground in the South, until finally, with South

Carolina taking the lead in 1860, the Southern States declared their independence, and, with the formation of the Confederacy, asserted the existence of the Southern nation. The North's denial of the right of this new nation to exist/ resulted in the War for Southern Independence.

That the Southern States had every right/ to secede from the Union/ cannot be doubted. As sovereign States, they had voluntarily acceded to the constitutional compact/ and as sovereign States they had the right to withdraw from it.

Today being Confederate Memorial Day, we honor the memory of those courageous and immortal men in gray/ who fought for the Southern cause. No words that I could speak would be adequate/ to express the love, the appreciation, and the gratitude, which we, their descendants, feel for those men, who sacrificed their lives and their all/ for their beloved homeland.

I would like to say this much, however: I think we make a great mistake/ when we speak of the cause they fought for/ as the "Lost Cause". It is far from being/ a lost cause -- a fight for principle/ is never lost.

True, the South suffered military defeat in the war and failed in its bid for national independence, despite the heroic, almost superhuman, efforts of these men in gray. Yet the fight they waged, by its very heroism, by their own glory and nobility, made the South's sense of separate identity, its unity, its solidarity, stronger than ever.

Moreover, the cause which they upheld/ is still a living cause today, albeit in modified form. Local self-government/ in the sense of complete national independence/ may be no longer an issue; but

local self-government in the form of States' Rights/definitely is an issue, and those who battle for States' Rights today/are waging a fight for governmental principles which are founded on the bedrock of the Constitution.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL STRUGGLE TODAY

This issue of States' Rights versus Federal usurpation of power/ is the most important domestic problem facing this country today. Actually, the encroachment of the Federal government on the rights of the several States/has been going on for a long period of time, but over the last two decades, and especially since 1954, when the Supreme Court embarked on its new sociological tangent, Federal usurpation has increased to an almost unbelievable extent.

I shall not even attempt here to enumerate/the specific usurpations of the Federal government. To do so would require a great deal of time, and in any event, I think that we are all generally familiar with what has been happening in this respect/over the past few years.

Suffice it to say, all three branches of the Federal government have been guilty of usurpation of power. This is important to remember, because some people have gained the impression that the Supreme Court alone/is responsible for the whole debacle. That is not the case, although it is the Court which has led the attack since 1954. All three branches must share the blame -- the Court, the Congress, and the Executive. And they have all been at it for a long time. Thomas Jefferson observed as far back as 1825: "It is but too evident/that the three ruling branches [of the Federal government] are in combination to strip their colleagues, the State authorities, of the powers reserved by them."

We are indeed at a late hour to defend our liberties. As I have tried to emphasize and re-emphasize, ^{that} the essential foundations have been perilously weakened. Although there is now much more awareness of the danger than ever before, the people -- outside of those in the South, at least -- have not yet been sufficiently aroused from their apathy /to take effective political action/ to halt the trend toward Federal totalitarianism.

There has been one hopeful development lately. We seem to be making at least some headway /toward devising some method of curbing the excesses of the Supreme Court. The proposals now pending before the Senate/ would reverse a number of the more flagrant decisions/ which the Court recently handed down in the internal security field, and in one respect would limit the appellate jurisdiction of the Court.

Frankly, however, despite this one encouraging development, the picture is not a bright one. It may be that the deterioration of our constitutional system /has already proceeded so far/ that we will not be able to bring the ship of state back onto a true course, without first passing through some very stormy seas -- that is, through a difficult period of governmental and political chaos /which appears to loom ahead.

THE FUTURE OF THE SOUTH

Of one thing we may be sure. No matter how fierce the storms; no matter what changes our form of government may undergo; indeed, whatever the ultimate fate of this Union, --- come what may, the South /is going to maintain its identity/ and the distinctive values of its way of life. More than that, I really believe that, out of the welter of storm and chaos that lies ahead, the South is going

to regain at least a measure of its autonomy, its independence. I know not in what form, but I do believe that the South is going to become in truth, at last, master of its own destiny. We have witnessed over the past few years the beginning of a great historic movement. We have seen a great stirring, a re-awakening, of the Southern people, on all fronts -- political, spiritual, economic and intellectual. But especially have we seen a rebirth of the Southern people's awareness of their own identity and their heritage. And we have seen this reborn awareness give rise to a determination and a spirit that is not going to accept Federal dictation, outside domination, or tyranny in any form.

THE ULTIMATE ISSUE

It should always be borne in mind, however, that the South is not fighting for itself alone; for the South's cause is the nation's cause. It was on the principle of States' Rights that the nation was founded. States' Rights is a principle of vital concern, not only to Southern States, but to all States; for States' Rights, or local self-government, is the indispensable element of our checks-and-balances system, the very cornerstone of liberty.

The preservation of liberty is a goal which is -- or should be -- of as much concern to the people of the North as to those of the South. It should be of equal, and paramount, concern to the people of every State in this Union.

"Liberty," said Lord Acton, "is not a means to a higher political end. It is itself the highest political end." It is the ultimate issue at stake in the present constitutional struggle. On many occasions, men have tried to becloud the clear picture by

the injection of extraneous issues; but the fact remains/that it is human liberty which is at stake.

The issue is today/just what it was in the time of Calhoun; and in conclusion, I should like to turn once more to his words:

"Stripped of all its covering," he declared, "the naked question is, whether ours is a federal or a consolidated government; a constitutional or absolute one; a government resting ultimately on the solid basis of the sovereignty of the States, or on the unrestrained will of a majority; a form of government, as in all other unlimited ones, in which injustice, and violence and force finally must prevail."

This/is the naked question again today, just as Calhoun phrased it more than a century ago. What will be our answer today?

If I know the spirit, the temper, and the courage of the Southern people -- the people of this county and of this State -- their answer will be: Tyranny shall not prevail in this land! Freedom, independence, and constitutional government must, and shall, have the victory!

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